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601 /163 cont./

614 Bejkári

615 to

Petároague

denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague

denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague

to

Aúwuewague

Majároague

denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

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SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana culture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture. The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary. Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming extended patrilineal families.

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Among the components of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry all these models of social structure are disappearing. Today it is very rare to find among the members of this phratry marriages between cross cousins, and there have appeared, with this social dislocation, new kinship terms that correspond to the new patterns of marriage and kinship. It would be interesting to see to what point the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry varies from the other Tukana phratries, but so far it has been impossible to undertake this work.

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3: Fulop

SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/For an example of the effects of "western" acculturation and missionization on Tucano cosmogony, see the tale entitled "The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean", in either category 539 or category 116, pp. 8-49, 54./

131 /99 cont./
167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn [462] method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male [412] relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber [177] workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a [242] new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

[412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

/100 cont./

241 462 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man [249] would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, name (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The [437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 [262] Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the 224 223 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a •[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed
[824] at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to
[162] shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
596 /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the
rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily
[287] clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
• 177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
•177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
302 esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[751] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is
[413] simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

• 177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [014] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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797 /105 cont./
•177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

*
539 Cosmogony

The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177]

4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

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5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

*539 /120 cont./ they began to work again, and they worked very strenuously for one hour. They were about to begin another hour of work and from then on they could not work any longer because the words were changed. All the people who had worked before were only Tukano, and then the words became confused and they began to speak Siriano, Cubeo, Maniva, Miraña, Yucuna, Bicula, Tatuyo, Carapaná, Barasano, Tuyuca, Desano, Matapí, Uanano, Tariano, Piratapuyo, Macú, Guayabero, Carijona, Putumayo Indian, Baré, Petara, Detuana, and Yuruti (35).

•[177]

35. Passage that has a great similarity to the episode of the Tower of Babel. Possible Christian influence.

A book of Yepá Huáke fell on top of the tower and Duétiro received this paper, and he was not able to read it. Then Duétiro smoked a cigar, ate coca, and with pure memory called Siópuri Uejké to read the book. And Siópuri Uejké read for himself what the book said, and then he said: "This is not good for all the world, nor for the Colombians, nor for the Tukano." Siópuri Uejké asked: "Who is the chief of all your tribe?" Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "This is the chief of all the tribe," pointing to Duétiro. Siópuri Uejké said: "There is a maloca missing from our life, and there Yepá Huáke is going to appear again. We are going to enter that maloca. If we do not enter that maloca, we will die forever." And Siópuri Uejké returned to his land again. Then Yúpuri Baúro was again left as chief of the Tukano. They boarded the boat of the gũĩo again and continued going upriver and looking with binoculars, which are called Miriapuraecoro in Tukano, and they were able to see as far as Diamukakuwí. And Diamukakuwí was farther away than Diadasukawí. And he arrived at Diadasukawí and he entered that maloca and took a necklace. In /121/ Tukano, necklace is called Dajsúke. And he left Diadasukawí again and boarded the boat of the gũĩo and continued going upriver. And he arrived at Diamukakuwí and he entered

563 /65/ 4. Observations -- 1st. As we have just seen, small groups of a nation are found close to or even in the midst of other nations. Natural sociability or the requirements of circumstances relate these human groups to one another. The consequences of these relations are several:

191 197 [177] [178] The first, one language becoming general, that of the Tukano nation, as an idiom common to several tribes, in such a way that on the lower Uaupés up to Iauareté almost all the adult persons (19)

19. This observation dates from 1947, soon after our first excursion to the Uaupés. We verified then, upon entering the area inhabited by the Wanana, that very rarely individuals of this tribe could understand one or another common Tukano phrase. In 1957 a certain number of persons who not only understood the Tukano idiom well, but also used it in conversations among themselves were already encountered in all the povoados from Cururú downward, among the former students of the Mission of Iauareté, or among the adults who had been employed there for some time. In our work on the Tukano language, we noticed the complacency of the young people, who had attended Mission schools, in speaking the Tukano idiom among themselves. We seemed to discover in this complacency only a touch of proudness, as if there were a superiority over their own parents and other elderly persons, and not because it could afford them a means of conversation among companions, exempt from the control of the "old ones."

speak, besides the language of their tribe (20),

20. It is to be noted that it did not lead to the formation of a language, with elements not connected with the others, as has happened in similar conditions, for example, the Sabir (miscellany of Italian, French, Spanish, Greek,

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in the Mediterranean ports.

197 It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. [178] The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. [115] In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya [126] knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even
178 elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity [563] of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining [582] and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

/66 cont./

000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

• 177 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth
648 century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
[567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are
[648] considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that, according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
[554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

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868 The skill and perfection with which he opens out the palms for the covering of the maloca, with the help of the oar, or how he makes his plaitings, the way of tying and transporting a bundle of palms, merit admiration. His ability with regard to these practical necessities of life is very remarkable. And it becomes more admirable if we consider that the training is very quick, without true schools, and he soon finds himself skilled, for example, in the varied and beautiful work of nets and baskets.
797 They also learn with relative speed the trades of the civilized,
868 such as mason, blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, in the Salesian
177 Schools, although, perhaps due to the force of the environment, circumstances, and their inconstancy, they do not often reach perfection in their trade. Some continue as artisans of these trades in the missionary establishments. Others, returning from the schools to their homes, have an opportunity to use what they learned, handling, for instance, the saw, the hammer, and even the chisel. They are also the machinists of the launches that go up their immense rivers; just as they are capable of executing more delicate work, such as the observations and handling of meteorological instruments (5).

5. Wallace already observed a century ago (perhaps with some exaggeration to emphasize the idea) that, while a European countryman would take six months to learn how to handle a sextant, one of our Indians learns it in minutes. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre) also made a similar observation.

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502 They are the irreplaceable "practitioners" of the navigation of those dangerous rivers, because they have an amazing topographic memory of the hidden rocks and sandbanks, bound up with an impressive calm during the dangers presented by the storms and the cachoeiras.

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4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

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His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

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/144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

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The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

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They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

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/footnote 25 cont./ to work with the whites of the lower Rio Negro, without having sent any news. Upon returning, the meeting with his wife took place with the customary indifference on the bank of the river as he disembarked from the canoe. Inside the hut, however, after having presented him with the quinhapira /a fish dish/ and the beijú /manioc bread/, the wife, squatting beside the husband, opened up with these complaints: -- "O father of my children (yõ-põra-kõ), you have finally arrived. You were gone with the white very far away, very far away, and the mother of your children remained here alone, without having fish for the children, without being able to make a new clearing, abandoned, without clothes... Oh! How sad it is to live like this! How sad it is! (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, pp. 72-3).

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Although he laughs easily, he always receives the great joys or tragedies with a certain indifference. They do not know the kiss (26)

26. It also seems that words for kiss and embrace do not exist in the Tukano language. The term mʃ'mI, which Pe. Antõnio Giacone records in his vocabulary as corresponding to kiss, actually means to suck. As a matter of fact, in the early days when they were taught to kiss some object, they sucked it, even when it was a matter of the priest's hand at a liturgical function.

or the embrace as a display of affection between parents and children or other relatives.

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829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always willing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauareté did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they 273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí [164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

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25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 286 301 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú, tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 291 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

• 177 291 The new generation, both of the female and male sex, which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

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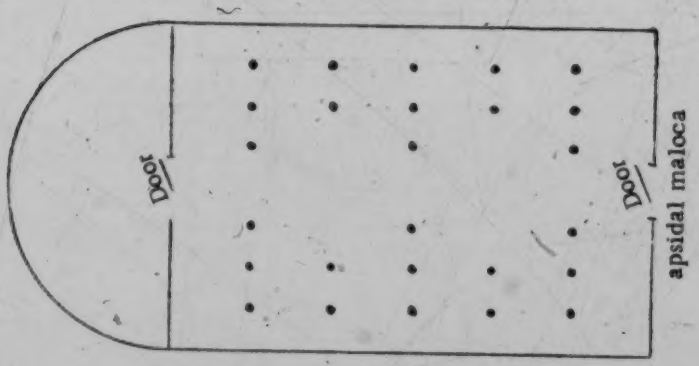
342 *[192] [178] At present all the malocas that are still found in the region of the Uaupés and its tributaries are rectangular. Up to 40 years ago, one saw some with the posterior part of roundish shape, like an apse, called do'ákaro-tirí-wy'í (maloca with kitchen) (2).

2. The maloca of the Tuyuka in Pinó-koa-liró on the upper Tiquié, which Koch Grünberg affirmed measured 27x17,80x7.80 meters, was apsidal in this way (Zwei Jahre, 204).



353 *[192] [421] This /174/ apse was separated, in the interior of the maloca, by a partition of matting that was called i'mßa-ta'tyá (separation of matting). The family of the tuxaua resided in this apsidal compartment, and the ornaments, musical instruments, and utensils of common use, which constituted the collective property of the group, were kept in it.

• 177 342 *[192] With the increase in comfort of the Indians and in the instinct of ownership (and up to a certain point it is imitation or even the prompting of the civilized), there appear small houses, wi'í,

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[192]

family type, of straw or bark or even of pau-a-pique (3),

3. By pau-a-pique or taipa (in Tukano di'tá pyákaro) is understood, in all Brazil, the house whose walls consist of a hurdle of pales and laths, which is then filled in and plastered with mud or mortar.

instead of the old and large malocas, baxsá-wi or baxsarí-wi (dance house) (4).

4. That of Parí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, disappeared about 20 years ago, measured approximately 60 by 30 meters, attests Pe. João Marchesi.

for a whole local group.

It is to be noted in the present povoados that all the houses have the same rectangular style. They are, on a small scale, a maloca. They are not alike, however, nor do they follow any alignment, except for the cases of intervention by the missionaries. In imitation of the houses of the Mission, today one sees some houses with a small porch or shed.

[197]

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As for the location, it is always on the bank of a river or stream (5).

5. Paulo /Paul/ Rivet characterizes the civilization of these tribes as "mandioca civilization." Perhaps with more accuracy one should say "mandioca and fishing civilization." We have found, especially in the region inhabited by the Karapanã and Tatú, malocas in the interior of the forest 500 or 600 meters from the streams. This distance is dictated by the circumstances, in order for them to protect themselves against attacks and violence.

/175 cont./

249 them. Although this is not a plant native to Brazil (8),

415

8. This is commonly thought. The cane has an Asiatic origin from China, from where it passed to the Mediterranean, and from Spain to the New World. The year of 1627 is marked as being the one of its introduction in Pará. It is certain that at the time of the discoveries the Indians were already planting cane. Alonso de Rojas, in the report on the journey of Pedro de Teixeira in 1637, tells us this ("Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas," p. 114).

Nordenskiöld thinks that the press is a native invention, according to his material and resources. Nordenskiöld's opinion does not seem acceptable to us for the presses and the tribes of the Uaupés. [177] They would be an imitation of the presses that the civilized have used on the lower Rio Negro since the eighteenth century.

351 A square, maxkĩ-pá, or rectangular area, cleaned of any
*[192] vegetation, and usually proportional to the population, is located in front of the maloca. It is also called baxsarí-u'tú, "dance yard"; actually some numbers of the ceremonial dances are performed there.

351 There is always a road a few meters wide, and clean, that
504 leads to the landing place, or places, where they tie the canoes and take their bath. A road that serves, moreover, for the procession of Wãx-tĩ at his festival (cf. VII - 4, e (2)).

504 When the steep bank of the river is very high, they build a stairway with steps of earth or of timbers. If the steps are of earth, they are made immovable with roundish timbers of about two meters, tied to small stakes driven into the ground or tied transversely, by means of cipos, to two long lateral parallel beams.

*192 /176 cont./
342 It was solidly built upon five pairs of supports, boxtá-ri (9),

9. Greatly preferred for supports is the "pau-vermelho" /red wood/ (mira-piranga) of the Caesalpiniaceae.

which demarcate the central nave (see the nomenclature of the columns - VII - 4, e (2)). They were roundish pieces of timber, straight, rustic (without removal of the bark), but quite regular and well-proportioned, as were also the beams, nɛ̃xtõ-rĩ (Uaupés, nɛ̃xtõ-nĩ), and rafters, wa' sõ-rĩ (U. wa' sõ-nĩ).

All the timberwork was solidly joined together with cipo (10).

*[177] 10. In some of the modern houses nails are already appearing in beams, laths, etc.

353 In the interior the supports, all of them nicely aligned, divided the space into five naves. The three central ones for common use: passage, meetings, dances, visits, and
[415] work. Kept there, but toward the back, were the utensils /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /177/ of common use, such were the large vessels of baked clay and the wooden tubs for the fermentation of the caxirís, and the oven for making the flour. It is here that the dances are performed on the occasion of the festivals (11).

11. Some malocas have only three naves, the central one being wider. We have also seen four naves. In those with five, the three intermediary naves are always used for work (preparation of the flour, of the caxirí, etc.) and for meetings.

342 373 Having, then, only two openings, the interior is always somewhat dark, being, in part, illuminated by the stoves (12).

*[192]

12. Sometimes, on one or more posts, which seem planted only for this purpose, they light at night a piece of resin called cicantá, which burns with a quite intense and long-lasting light, and leaves as residue a tar which also serves for calking the canoes.

• 177 342 574 In the modem family-huts, there is customarily an interior partition, generally made of bark. Perhaps this division, which is being adopted, has been suggested by the convenience when they must house some guest, especially the civilized. The Indian ordinarily is very hospitable; he not only receives guests for the great caxirís, but he also shelters any Indian or white who might be traveling. The first division near the door is reserved exclusively for the guests (see VII - 4, e 2 a).

[797] In some povoados, at the request of the Missionary, they build a large hut that serves for overnight stays of the Padre and as a chapel, when there is no other place reserved for worship.

342 *[192] Some malocas (and also Makú huts), in which the roof ends very close to the ground, completely or partially lack side walls. Such walls are regularly dispensed with in the oxkóro-áro (Nheengatú tapirí or papirí), or emergency huts, which they make in the distant clearings or on the banks of the rivers where they are accustomed to staying overnight on the occasion of trips and fishing expeditions.

177 342 Ordinarily the maloca or house is alone and contains all the family household goods. Auxiliary houses, however, are beginning to appear. The maloca of the Tuyuca, described above, has one of these. One of the Indians, knowing a little Portuguese, explained that it was the "succursal" of the maloca. Much smaller and only partially protected by side walls, made of straw and bark. There were about 14 hammocks reserved for the Makú in service, the flour oven, sieves, hampers, suspended tipitis,

[353] [415]

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domes-
[797] ticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of
[177] pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

*[192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

/179 cont./

177 2) Household goods and utilitarian objects.

41 The house of the forest dweller who has been in the service of the "white" or has traded with them now displays many objects obtained from the civilized, such as kettles, mugs, ax, bottles, fishhooks, scissors, hammocks, and even trunks or suitcases in which to keep their clothes. Except for the cotton hammock, which among the tribes of the Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí is today almost as common or more so than the native one made of tucum, the other objects are rarities in the conjunction of the utensils of native manufacture.

We shall now recall these, and later on we shall describe the ornaments and musical instruments.

323 a) Ceramics.

462 All the ceramic work falls to the woman; looking for the clay, to the man.

*192 1) Earthen pots and cooking pots. Camotim or camocim
323 is a regional term of the Amazon, and a generic one of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú, equivalent to pot, and is used to designate vessels of very different shape and dimensions, according to their use. Among the products of native ceramics, some are similar to a common pan of /180/ ours, are called ki-pu-tõ (Nheengatú, yapepú), and are used to prepare mingau /a manioc dish/ and quinhapira /a fish dish/. There also exist:

wai-doá-tõ, to cook the fish;

wai-baarí-pá, in which to serve the fish to the guests;

pêru-tõ, a kind of large vessel in which to keep caxirí. They distinguish the:

pêru-ahũa aparí-pa, large black cooking pot in which the beijú caxirí is fermented;

pêru-poorí-pá, in which the caxirí already prepared is kept;

sũxtõ-wõ is the water pot for carrying water;

kaxpí-tõ, the one in which the kaxpí is distributed (VI -- 4, 1 (3)).

/184 cont./

501 this starts to dry. A bonfire around it will end up by bringing down its trunk, which, with a slow fire (20),

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20. For such an effect they kindled the house of the cupim /a kind of ant/, buxtwá-gá, which serves marvelously, because it provides a slow and long-lasting fire easily controlled by the native, in order not to remove more than is required. It is the process that they regularly use when they want to hollow out wood for the making of the tub, mortar, trocano /signal drum/, canoe, etc.

will be hollowed out. The adze was used to scrape the charred wood, leaving the interior part more smooth and regular. Afterwards the canoe, hollowed out as desired, is put on some crossbars, and a fire below, in such a way that the wood is heated and not burned. Under the action of the heat the fibers become more flexible and the canoe-maker starts, little by little, by means of small staffs used as a wedge, exerting pressure so that the hollow of the canoe starts to become larger, beginning at the center, then the stern and the bow. In order that it not contract upon cooling, they place poles transversely at the places where later planks for /185/ the seats will be installed. According to its length, they will have three, five, or more seats. They make it with such a mastery that, put in the water, the craft is perfectly balanced, with the stern and the bow quite high. The holes or cracks are calked with breu, oxpé.

[177] Under the influence of the civilized, they add to the height of these canoes, with planks set in with nails at the edges. Such canoes are called, in the regional term, montarias.

/185 cont./

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*[192] 2) Oar. The oar, wahá-phĩ (Uaupés uhá-phĩ), is often made of savĩ-kõ, like the canoe. The end, wahá-phĩ dõxpo-á, is always a small cylindrical transverse projection, slightly curved, like a crutch. Among the Tukano it is perfectly in accordance with the style of their seat and their cigar holder. The dimensions depend, evidently, on the wish of the owner and its purpose: there are small oars for the children, medium-sized ones for the women, and large ones for the men.

Tukano oar
(note the crutch top and the beak-shaped tip)

[177] Due to the influence of the models of the civilized oars that navigate these rivers, one sees nowadays a great variety of shapes in the blade of the /186/ oars: roundish, lanceolate, etc. Not infrequently they produce on the blade colorful designs (circles, etc., evidently in imitation of the civilized). Originally it seems that they used an oar with a roundish blade, but with an almost imperceptible point; this generally in the more remote malocas.

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2) Sleeping hammocks.

The Indian never sleeps on the ground, always in hammocks (24),

> 24. Through contact with the civilized they have learned to sleep on the floor or quarter-deck of the launches, and later also on benches and chests.

pũghõ, and they carry them with them on their travels. The hammock /191/ meets perfectly the demands of the climate of the region, warm and humid, since it is cool, ventilated, light, small in volume, and, woven, as it usually is, out of tucum (25),

M
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> 25. The "hammock of thirty threads" of the Makú is usually made of thick threads of miritĩ.

it presents sufficient resistance and durability. They make it in different sizes, for children as well as for adults. There are three types of hammocks for sleeping:

a) Rede de trinta fios /hammock of thirty threads/. This is the common name in Portuguese; in Nheengatu it is called kisáw, and in Tukano neé pũ-ghõ, that is, hammock of miritĩ. It is made without the use of a loom. They make thirty or more turns around two stakes, as far apart as the length desired; always, however, longer than the body of the one who is to use it. These threads are joined in two clews /Port. punhos/, like a ring, pũ-ʒa-põ, by means of which the hammock will be suspended. Transversally, at a right angle, pass the threads that determine the width of the hammock, tied to the horizontal ones by knots in such a way that small rectangles of one span more or less result.

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/191 cont./

● 177 Due to its simplicity, it is known and produced by all the
286 tribes, although it is called "rede de Makú" /Makú hammock/.
352 Because of this depreciatory name, and mainly because of the present ease of acquiring more durable and economical cotton hammocks from the civilized, it is beginning to lose its acceptance among the Indians of the other tribes and today is found almost solely among the Makú and the tribes without contact with the civilized. The Tukano tell of having learned from the Desana how to make this type of hammock. They were not able to clarify whether they had previously used the rede-puçá /puçá hammock/, or if they knew the hammock and slept on platforms.

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T
* 192 b) Beaten hammock. In Tukano it is called pá-tuke, and
T in Nheengatú, makíra. It is manufactured with a very simple
174 loom (26).
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26. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 348) is of the opinion that the loom is of European origin. This opinion seems acceptable to us, and we believe one could say that the form of the "rede batida" /beaten hammock/ as well is not of native origin, but learned from the civilized. This conclusion is confirmed by: 1st, the fact that not many Indian women know how to make the "rede batida"; 2nd, those who presently know how to do it (as is shown by our inquiries) learned it in the Mission schools or from the alumnae of the Mission; 3rd, we know that the Governador of the Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, in his economic plan to encourage industry, favored the weaver's trade, aiming at "the making of the cloth needed for the uniforms of the garrison, the colonists, and the Indians who came down, using eighteen looms and ten spinning wheels, with twenty-four spindles each. In 1798 only 157 Indian women were working as spinners"

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/footnote 26 cont./ (A. Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada -- Manaos, 1940, p. 35): 4th, in the povoados more in contact with civilization, as well as in the more remote malocas, one never finds the "rede-batida"; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ but the natives either use only the hammock "de trinta fios" /of thirty threads/ or those bought from the civilized; 5th, it seems that we can discover still another argument, to wit: outside of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ of the Salesian Missions, on numerous excursions along rivers and igarapés, in only two povoados did we have an opportunity to see the loom and the work of the "rede-batida," and in the two cases it was a matter of young women who had learned it in the Mission and did it on order from the civilized. Furthermore: the terms of the Tukano language that we have presented in relation to the "rede-batida" result from innumerable inquiries at different times and places, with the more educated alumni of the Mission. It is not a matter of an ordinary nomenclature known and used by all, as one would expect if the "rede-batida" were a primitive industry. Many did not know the terms; others presented improper terms made up for the occasion. As generic terms for the occasion, they sometimes were and sometimes were not understood and accepted by other natives.

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Before there came into being the trade in the present cotton hammocks (called in the region redes-do-Ceará /hammocks from Ceará/), the civilized women of the Rio Negro and some Indian women of the Içana continued to "bater" /to beat/ their hammocks on the primitive looms, as they had learned in the lower Rio

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Negro. The Salesian Missions in turn try to keep this skill from being lost, and they teach the Indian women of greater ability and skill, not only how to make the

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/191 cont./

/footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths, napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit modern taste.

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/192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp) has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

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/199 cont./

*192 war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become
178 invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they
411 painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover,
[276] they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Jahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubêwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called
714 in Tukano baxtí-pá:karo; it was woven out of cipo and was very
535 light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and,
*192 up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2)).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrí-phí, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3)).

• 177 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use,
178 and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow
411 and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior
*[192] of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

M
411 /200 cont./
or Cēiba petándra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T
411 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea
T setígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
[237] point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[824] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of pataúa (30).

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[184]

30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T
[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T
[531] Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers. The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T
[224] When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/204 cont./

*192 2) Equipment for the ipadú and the caapí

415 a) To prepare the ipadú (cf. VI -- 4, i (3) /see 4, i (4)/), the Indian, besides a pot with a wide mouth, pátu axtẽrĩ-tõ, and a small mortar, pa-mõ-a, in the usual fashion, needs bags and a long tube, patu pa:põ. The bags are obtained from the tururí (cf. VI -- 3).

b) For the kaxpí there becomes necessary a wooden tub, kaxpí pa-mõ-a (see VI -- 2, b (7)), in which the cipo is pounded, and a vessel, kaxpí-tõ (see 2, a (1)), in which the juice is collected and diluted with water.

855 3) Macurú. When the child starts to steady itself on its legs, they use a very practical process to entertain it and at the same time to teach it the first steps. It consists of a hoop which is obtained from a thick cipó wound several turns and tied to a beam. The child will stand inside the hoop, which reaches the height of its chest. A very flexible and soft embira, tied to the hoop, passes between the legs of the child, who thus remains as though riding a horse and can sit on the embira when it feels tired. Nowadays it is very common to find a piece of cloth instead of the primitive embira. This apparatus, which in the Lingua Geral is called macurú, and in Tukano bahari be'tó, is secured to one of the roof beams by a cipo and reaches a distance from the ground that allows the child to touch it with the feet and to try its first steps.

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Macurú (baharí-be'tó)

Outside of this apparatus they do not know another for the children, who either remain abandoned on the ground or will ride on the hips of their own mother or older sister (38),

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38. It is always the women who carry the children. Due to the influence of the civilized, one can see today a father carrying his own child in his arms, but for a short time, while the mother is carrying some other load. In the house one never sees an Indian man holding a child, and even less lulling one to sleep.

when they are not in the arms or in the hammock.

*192 /208 cont./
524 bees, mumí-pesé (40).

40. A little Indian also talked about the "game of the lemon," but she did not describe it to us, and we did not have a chance to see it.

Another collective game is "hide and seek," called in Tukano wãx-tĩ mãã-ré baágõsamim (Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you), because the signal to hide is given by one of the children, calling "Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you."

One of the most common amusements, and which appears even in the Dabacuris (see VII -- 4, e (2)), is what is called game "of the toad," tárokõ-pesé. Some children squat and, advancing by jumping, start singing: táro-kõakã... táro-kõakã (little toad! little toad!). Other children, standing up, block the jump of the toads, and among them the following dialogue is started: -- Where are you going? (no'õ-põ waati mãxsã?) -- We are going to see whether there is any ripe pineapple in the clearing (õxsã wexsé-põ yãra wá:, sẽ'rá to'ó-põ buxtise-pa yãra wá:) -- Your grandmother went there to eat pineapple, fell down, and hurt herself (toó-põ mãxsã hẽxko sẽ'rá baágo myõ-doxké-pyõ-waápõ). Then the little toads exclaim: -- Poor grandmother! ... (adé:! õxsã hẽxkõ!) and pretend to faint, falling on the ground.

524 With the palm leaflet rolled in a spiral, they improvise a
534 flute capable of emiting different sounds, according to the diameter of the spiral.

• 177 They make small flutes, puxtisé, out of taquara or paxiúba;
524 the spinning top, bextága, using the nut of the tucumã and others.
*[192] More recently, in possession of jacknife and nail; they also prepare their wooden tops in imitation of the one of the civilized.

/208 cont./

177 3. Clothing and shoes.

291 a) Clothing.

Under the influx of the civilized (the example of the white, whom the Indian likes to imitate, the instruction of the Missionaries, and the clothes that /209/ the latter give them), the natives are getting into the habit of wearing clothes. As a rule, those who have spent some years in the schools, upon returning to their aldeias, do not dispense with clothing any longer. At least a pair of pants or shorts (the men) and a skirt (the women), leaving the bust uncovered.

294 An interesting detail is that generally the women only make,
296 maintain, and wash feminine clothes. The men obtain ready-
462 made clothes, given or bought, and they must attend to washing and repairing them. Some men have been seen washing the clothing of their wives.

291 Originally, that is, before any influence from the civilized, dating from the discoveries of the New World, did they have any clothing? What would it have been?

For one thing, the warm climate does not impose the use of clothing. For another, the rains and frequent excursions into the forest, which offers shelter to the individual and would quickly wear out the clothes, discourage the wearing of clothing. This is what we could deduce, a priori, from their habitat.

The first Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, in 1759, says very originally: --"The Indians of these sertões /interior parts of the country/ commonly not having any more clothes than those that our first parents wore in the field of Damascus" (o. c. 145). He notices, as an exception, that the Cambeba wore long garments of cotton and without sleeves, open on the side.

A century later, in 1846, the costume is still the same, according to Wallace: -- "These Indians free themselves from the hindrance of clothing as much as is possible to conceive. The men wear only a small piece of tururí, which goes between their legs and is tied to a cord that goes around the waist. The

/210 cont./

291 The first travelers of the Solimões mention Indians "with a tail." Wallace is certain that attributing a tail to the /211/ Indians of these regions is due to faulty observation of the dirty and twisted waxsó-ro.

It does not seem, however, a "dress of decency," because it is too tight and narrow, and at times it only covers partially. It could be a "dress of attraction." We consider it rather a "dress of protection" (43).

> 43. In May of 1954, expressing to a Karapanã Indian, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papurí), Vicente by name, our desire to visit the region of the Karapanã on the headwaters of the river Áua, he informed us spontaneously, as to warn us, that over there they do not wear any clothing. After this trip, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has lived with the Irmãs Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women did not need bodily protection like the men.

it being a matter of a more sensitive part than the rest of the Indian's skin, hardened by the inclemencies.

*[192] • [177] As for the tanga (44)

> 44. Gaspar de Carvajal, in the account of the journey of Francisco de Orellana in 1540 (o. c.), tells us about the use of the waxsó-ro by the women. Wallace (o. c. 352), in 1849, says that, on the Uaupés, the women, previously naked, "upon the entrance of the whites cover themselves with a tanga." The same still happens a century later.

/226 cont./

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6th. -- Ñomõ-kó. It is prepared by cooking the cará /Dioscorea/, ñõmõ, which is afterwards moistened with saliva and crushed in the mortar. Finally, it is mixed with the beijú or the manicuera and left to ferment.

7th. -- Sibeókê. It is true aguardiente. It is obtained by distilling cane juice (ã'rã̃-kó, Uaupés a'nã̃-kó) on the fire. Its use is more infrequent, the planting of the cane, ã'rã̃, being generally limited. It seems that at times the caxirís are also distilled.

Still (sibeóri-pá)

We know that sibeókê is also prepared on the Uaupés, although in a more limited way. In Ambaíba (river Içana) we saw one of these /227/ stills, sibeóri-pá (Nheengatú mutiquerepáua). It consisted of a large camotim, with a capacity of about one hundred liters, terminating in a narrower mouth, which was closed with a wooden plug to which was fitted a taquara /bamboo/ which carried the aguardiente to another smaller camotim. The orifices were plugged with clay. It has not been reported that there were stills or distillation of cachaça in this region northwest of the Amazon, and, noticing that the natives do not worry about the problem of cooling the distillation, some are led to believe that it is a matter of an indigenous invention. It might, however, be an imperfect imitation of the stills that existed on the lower Rio Negro as early as the eighteenth century.

• [177]

/227 cont./

*192 i) Stimulants and narcotics.

276 [178] 1) Tobacco. The planting of tobacco, mõ'rõ (Uaupés mõ'nõ) (nicotiana tabácum), is little and rare nowadays, and it is almost only seen in the povoados and malocas with little or no connection with the civilized. They prepare it in the following way: the men pick the leaves with the stem, reduce all of it to small bits, and put them on the fire in a very hot pot, stirring the contents until they become a dark mass. Afterwards the mass is pressed into small roundish molds. Under the effect of the sun and smoke these loaves of tobacco, mõ'rõ be'tó (Nh. mboti), harden. When they want to prepare the traditional cigar of the feasts, they crumble the tobacco and roll it in thin sheets of tauarí (see VI -- 2, f (5)) or of banana, producing the large cigar, utíkaro, 15 to 20 centimeters in length.

• [177] The Indian greatly likes to smoke. The tobacco that is consumed nowadays (on the three rivers whose area we studied), however, is all obtained from the civilized. The latter customarily shows kindness to the adults, men and women, with some cigarettes, or a piece of tobacco in a roll or on a stick, in friendship. The tobacco in a roll is a product that is always sought on the part of the natives as payment for their work.

More infrequent is the inhaling of tobacco, in powder, through the nostrils. They then use two small tubes of taquara or bone, connected at a 45° angle with string and pitch. Introducing the powder into one of the tubes, the Indian places the end at one of the nostrils and the other end in the mouth and, with a puff, forces the powder to go up the nose.

*192 263 2) Pepper. The native consumes pepper, bya, in large doses, almost always as seasoning for the quinhapira.

Ordinarily he has already prepared his seasoning, called bya-uhá-pyosé (that is, pepper in a water infusion), for application to the fish. /228/ It is common today for the Indian, on journeys or even at home, to have a bottle with whole or ground peppers.

/232 cont./

184 276 Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés; it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papurí and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

[797] [178] The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools, scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic; j)/ Conclusion.

252 The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tĩ is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

372 * [192] • [177] Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

/242 cont./

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*[192]

b) Hunting.

1) Hunting by pursuit (amã́ siró-tú pexkayesé).

The fauna of the Amazonian northwest is poor, in quality and quantity, in animals for eating. But hunting, besides providing food, is an enjoyable sport for the Indian. Poor as it is, hunting in the dense virgin forest can only be practiced by groups of two or three Indians. [177] Rarely will he go out alone, until very recently, when he obtained a shotgun from the civilized. With the shotgun or with the bow, the Indians are worthy /243/ hunters. He will also rarely go in large groups; this only when they locate in some zone a herd of wild pigs. Then they try to surround them, and with arrows and stabbing sticks /Port. paus terçados/ they kill a large number (72).

> 72. Not infrequently it happens that the herd of pigs, starving or attacked, attacks the men, who save themselves by quickly climbing the trees.

A man's treasured helpers in hunting are the dogs, small, skinny, and often almost blind because of the stings of the ants, taxi, but, perhaps for this very reason, with a more acute sense of smell.

[171] The Maku are specialized hunters. When they go to track the animal chased by the dogs, they make a lot of noise, with characteristic cries, and nothing, neither the cipos, thorns, nor other obstacles, is able to stop them.

*[192] 2) Hunting by ambush (pexkáye du'tigõ or pexkáye pe'sã́-kõ).

The animals have their drinking places (73)

> 73. On the upper Tiquié, near the Cachoeira Grande, one sees a stone that the antas come to lick. The ground or stone with natural salts, and for this reason sought by the antas, deer, and other animals, is called "anta sucker."

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4) Hunting by trap (pexkáye-kõ yurõ).

The method that they use for small animals, such as the cutia /agouti/ is simple. A strong, but flexible pole is planted in the ground. Sometimes they use bushes that already exist in the chosen location. They bend the free end, to which they fit a snare, tying it to sticks in the place where they foresee that the animal might pass, and the trap, yurõ (Nheengatú žukâ), is ready. When the animal tries to eat the bait left there, or even simply to pass through the snare, the pole is released violently, and the animal remains hanging by the leg. And thus it will stay until it dies, or it will be killed with blows of sticks.

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Nowadays, instead of the snare, there is often a loaded shotgun that fires and kills the animal; it is the trap called pexkáye-wõ.

Trap for birds and small animals

5) Hunting by canoe.

Very frequently the deer and the anta throw themselves into the river, because they are being pursued by dogs or in order to look for food on the other bank. Then the hunters pursue them with their fast canoes, and they kill them with the oar, a stick, or machete. On some occasions they reach in this way large herds of queixadas /white-lipped peccary/ and kill them in large number.

/245/

224 373 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians brings a torch of turí. They thus surprise the pacas, which are blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows. [177] Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging, pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most, because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the guarantee against theft (75),

> 75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always leave a wedge of forest between the clearing and the river, in order to hide it from the view of those who are traveling on the water. And the landing place where he disembarks and ties his canoe will be at a certain distance from the clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of [423] clearing, wexsé pá:kũrõ, is what gives them the ownership of * [192] the land while cultivating it.

[462] Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from June to August and from December to February. It is work exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con- * [192] venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish soil, semisandy, di'tá sõarã, or black and somewhat humous, nãxkã di'tá ñyĩrõ.

*192 241 313 /245 cont./

They "go around" the clearing (pũ-pé: it is the Tukano term that they use), that is, they mark off from the rest of the forest the area they want, with a small lane, cutting down the small plants and breaking branches. Formerly they did it only with the stone ax, õxtã komé; today clearing is done with the help of the machete, di-phĩ, and also at times with the iron ax, komé. The work consists essentially of breaking off the bushes and going around the large trunks with blows in such a way as to make the bark come off. With this the tree would dry and could then be burned. Once all the trees are dried in a more or less square area of about 50 or 100 meters on a side (according to the number of persons in the family), fire is set at various spots, and thus the gigantic trees either are incinerated or are reduced to a blackened trunk, which often falls to the ground. The clouds of smoke that rise here and there from the green /246/ forest reveal the places where a good burning, õhõã-dyakã-siri, is taking place. [412] [177]

If the burning was not very successful, because the sticks were not dry or because of a lack of wind, the work is done again, taking down branches, assembling them around the trees -- this is called coivara, in Tukano doxté-peosé, and burning is done anew.

Although the clearing is individual or, better, family property, for the work of clearing and burning the one interested will ask for the collaboration of his companions in the maloca or in the povoado; or, if he lives isolated, that of the closest inhabitants. And not only of his own tribe, but even of another nation. This collective work (cf. IX -- 2) is called neõsé (in Nheengatú ayurí). The immediate pay, that is, on the day or days of work, is a plentiful caxirí for all the workers; and more distantly his own help when solicited for identical work for the benefit of others. The ayurí is always practiced whenever the participation of many persons is needed for one job, for example, to cut and bring wood from the forest, to put in place the timberwork of a house roof, etc. The ayurí is a practice that is still in force even among the caboclos of the Rio Negro. [423] [476]

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/footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the complaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

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bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance, and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

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7) Industry and trade.

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We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

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438 taking something for the exchange (78).
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> 78. We have seen some Indians taking along on trips goods received from the civilized (salt, machete, mirror, etc.), with the intention of bringing back some native object in exchange (canoe, grater, puçá, etc.). In some cases it will happen that they will not find for exchange the object that they desire, or the objects offered do not interest those of the various povoados, and their owner returns from the trip with the goods that he took. We might think that the same would have happened in former times, perhaps more rarely than today.

This trade was more frequent with the tribes with which there were matrimonial relations.

Although the trade among the tribes is still being maintained today through the exchange of the products of their specialty or exclusivity, it has become much more intense due to the relations with the civilized, who, since the eighteenth century, have navigated those rivers with more or less frequency.

464 In the first place, the civilized needs the services of the
648 native. They were always the oarsmen for the first travelers of the /250/ rivers (79),

> 79. We know, for example, that in the squadron of Pedro de Teixeira, in 1637, there were 1,200 Indians for the work of rowing and other services.

and today they are the "sailors," that is, pilots, mechanics, oarsmen, loaders of the launches. And not infrequently they are hired as guides and interpreters. All these services are paid for with goods. Since the time of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro

4: Silva--368 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Chapter VII

Spiritual Culture

000 Man is always the rational animal, and proofs of his rational nature are innumerable and appear at every moment. But also true is the primum vívere, deínde philosophári, that is, one can only speculate after the pressing material needs have been satisfied. The intelligence needs a favorable environment in order to develop; but, even in the most adverse environment, it will always give manifestations of its presence. And these manifestations are many, which entitles us to say that, in a general way, the Indian is intelligent. The relative ease with which he adapts himself to our civilization, with which he learns and speaks several native languages and some ideas from the Portuguese that is taught him in the schools, the perspicacity with which he observes the white, listens to him, and talks to him, are proofs of our assertion concerning his intelligence. Up to now, however, no native from the Uaupés has acquired a secondary or higher education, nor has he shown an interest in acquiring it, in spite of the stimuli offered by the Salesian Missions (1).

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1. The Salesians count among their members, in the position of Coadjutor Brother, a Taryana Indian with an education higher than a primary one and who is a good teacher of tailoring, with a specialization course in Recife. The Montfortian Padres have recruited for their Instituto two Indians, a Desana and a Taryana. Young women of different tribes are found at present (1958) in Manaus, taking the course in nursing, supported by the Salesian Missions.

The failure of the first attempts is not surprising, because education assumes a civilization, that is, habits of life, of studies, which only a second or third native generation, raised in the civilized regimen, will be able to present.

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756 821 [197] In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike. They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another, stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon the one who lived in Iauareté.

755 756 [115] Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955) makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patrícia: --"My niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right, he will be punished." [177] Would this be the concept of a judgment after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle, the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache, the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

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/footnote 42 cont./ time he suffers periodic attacks, and for this reason he is afraid of painting himself for the dances, although he participates in them as Bayá (cf. VII-6, a (2)) that he is. We have watched him, in spite of his years, direct the ritual dances valiantly for 24 hours without interruption.

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/288/ The magic concept of the origin of sicknesses do not allow them to take the minimum precautions. They will not avoid contact with a person afflicted with tuberculosis or grippe, or skin infection; they will sleep at his side, lie in the same hammock, sit on the same seat, drink from the same cuia, help themselves from the same pot, into which they dip their fingers with the beijú.

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The Missionary tries to persuade them, for example, of the danger of contagion in tuberculosis. In spite of this, they do not stop taking caxiri perhaps masticated by a tubercular person. They do not resolve, unless watched and forced, to take a remedy according to the medical prescriptions, in so many doses repeated at such-and-such intervals (43).

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43. The belief in the pajé is suffering a lingering shock from the hospitals and ambulatories of the Mission and the trips of the Missionary distributing remedies. Many of them, at present, not only accept, but even ask for the remedies of the civilized, especially when they prove to have prompt efficacy, for example, the antimalarial remedies, analgesics, etc. They do not submit, however, to subjecting themselves to the prolonged treatment that various ailments demand and do not hesitate to run away from the hospital.

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or carĩço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly
• [177] enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

[194] As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
[147] many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give
[562] a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink.
[797] Among the alumni, and especially among the alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

/301 cont./
534 Uaupés (55) /sic; (57)/.

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55 /57/. During these past years some natives who came down to the Rio Negro for work became so enamored of the guitar that they heard there at the feasts of the caboclos that the possession of one of them constituted the dreamed-of fruit of their labor. And, upon returning to their povoados, they spend long hours of the day and the night strumming monotonously on the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ poor instrument. Perhaps for them the charm is not derived from the auditory pleasure which they experience as much as appearing, with this, more advanced or civilized than their other brothers. One also already sees some harmonica /Port. gaita/ or accordion or victrola among the alumni of the Mission.

Of the others, there are various instruments, all obviously of native origin.

/302/ a) Idiophones.

534 As rhythm instruments for the dances they have:
535 1st. -- Rhythm tube. In the Tukano idiom it is called ahũ-wõ̃,
* [192] plural ahũ-pawõ̃. It is a cylinder of imbauba a meter long and 10 centimeters in diameter, hollow, with the lower end touching the ground, obstructed because it corresponds to the node. The upper one is open and ends with a rectangular extension by which it is held with the right hand. Each dancer takes his instrument, and they go all together, marking the rhythm of the step with a stroke against the ground. Frequently these instruments are painted with white, with the latex from the sorva, and with designs of Greek frets in red or black color.

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1) Feminine adornment.

Besides the paintings on the face, breasts, and body as decoration (and not as clothing), as they declare, the women own few objects of adornment:

[178] a) Necklaces. They are of different size, shape, and material. They are made from various seeds, especially a tiny nut, threaded on a tucum fiber, the parakẽ-dá; or also little glass beads, the yax'kẽ-dá; or beads obtained from the civilized, the different shapes, sizes, and colors being combined in various ways. They wear them even outside the dances; they are not, however, of general use, and in Wallace's time they were not used at all (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, p. 630).

b) Bracelets. They are of beads or seeds, like the necklaces, and are called in Tukano, yax'kẽ wã-yãsé.

c) Knee bands (63).

63. Among the Ide-masã of the stream Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, we also saw young men using knee bands. Among the rest of the tribes the men only wear them as ornaments for the dances.

[286] In Nheengatú they are called tapacúra, and in Tukano yuxtá-seri. It is a band of delicate and curious weave, made of caroá fiber, most of the time, colored yellow or red. One is applied on each leg, a little below the knee. In many cases it is woven without any pieces added, and, thus, when, due to the person's growth, it starts to be too tight, they cut it off.

They assert that its purpose is to thicken the legs.

[177] d) Earrings. Nowadays one only sees earrings (in Nheengatú nambí-purá, in Tukano yoxsasé) obtained from the civilized, or, in place of them, small necklaces of glass beads.

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*192 562 178 291 e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 301 562 f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called barã́. It is what is called barã́ pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177] g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'í be'tó or i'í-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

[302] For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178] a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtĩ bohã́, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

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*192 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá íí-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. [177] Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá.

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrí-dá.

[534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

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*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõá-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that [177] [304] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komũ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

/316 cont./

287 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags.
532 Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and
764 length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg
532 (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast
778 of Wãx-tĩ. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtĩ (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters
771 of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

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culture that remained as evidence. In the religious Ethnology we not only have the reciprocal influence among the tribes, but that of the civilized, perhaps since the discovery of the New World (1),

1. Frei Gaspar de Carvajal, O. P., in the description of the voyage of Francisco Orellana, 1540, relates the information of an Indian woman. "In this aldeia (in the vicinity of the mouth of the Rio Negro) an Indian woman with much sense was taken. She said that near here, in the interior, there were many Christians, among them two white women, and that others lived with Indian women from whom they had /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ children. It is presumed that these are the ones who disappeared from Diogo Ordaz." One of the ships that made up part of the squadron of Ordaz, having left Seville at the beginning of 1531, with a destination on the river Maranhão, under the command of Juan Cornejo, ran aground in this river with more than 300 men, who settled among the Indians.

all of them Christians (2),

2. /From p. 317 in the original source./ In our days we know of traders who baptized Indians in order to make them their "godchildren," that is, with an obligation to work for them. Grotesque episodes are told about these baptisms, sometimes of an entire maloca, just pouring on water or putting salt in the mouth, without uttering any words. Koch Grünberg himself baptized some sick children, as he tells in his

/316 cont./

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/footnote 2 cont./ book Zwei Iahre. Still today (1957) the Missionaries find Indians scattered through various malocas who claim to have been baptized "by white," that is, by civilized who passed by the region trading.

with their cult, which would impress /317/ the savage, and with their talks or even with their positive catechizing, wishing to bring him to Christianism.

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Tribes of the Amazon and Rio Negro (cf. II - 1) (and those of the Uaupés maintained relations with those of the Rio Negro and Içana) were even evangelized by Missionaries in different times. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits and the Mercedarians were on the Rio Negro, in the eighteenth the Carmelites, in the nineteenth the Capuchins and Secular Priests.

The Christian converts were at times a minority within the group which would continue with their beliefs and practices. Perhaps in some cases an entire group, for example, a native povoado, became Christian, but later lost contact with the Missionaries -- and we saw that the catechizing on the Rio Negro and Uaupés was periodic and intermittent -- and returned to their pagan rituals.

Would there not have remained some trace of these learned teachings and religious practices? There are indications that affirm this, from which it is permissible to infer: what the Indians practice today and declared to us may not be exempt from the influence of the Christian civilized.

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Another difficulty no smaller than the first one is the reserve of the native, always suspicious, and he appears much more so on these subjects, about which there may even be an obligation to reveal nothing to the civilized. It has been verified that they more easily make disclosures about subjects of morality, which, it seems to us, should remain hidden, than about religious

/317 cont./
771 subjects (3).

> 3. General Couto de Magalhães, in spite of his friendly relations with many natives, reveals this silent discretion of theirs: "The Indians are very reserved and discreet in everything concerning a religious topic. In the middle of the most animated conversation, if one directs to them any question intended for the clarification of any of these points, they immediately become cool, at times somber, and either answer with monosyllables or do not answer at all" (Ensaios de Anthropologia, /Essays in Anthropology/, 495).

/318/ b) Christian influences.

177 793 We mention only three proofs of Christian influence: 1st -- the inclusion of elements of the Christian tradition in the native legends (as will be seen in the work in preparation "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") (4);

> 4. There are some points in these legends (as we shall see in another volume, "Lendas do Uaupés") that make us admit Christian diffusion. And we are not referring to the narrations of the alumni of the Catholic Missions. As we more than once had the opportunity to verify, in the exposition of their legends they insert episodes and names of personages about which they have heard in the catechesis. One proof of this is the Tukano Cosmogony revealed by the pajé Marcos Sierra to Marcos Fulop (cf. n. 65 /sic; see note 71/, Ch. VII-4, e (2c)).

4: Silva--469 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/318 cont./

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/footnote 4 cont./ concluded that there had been migrations of postdiluvian groups, without excluding the possibility of prediluvian migrations.

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2nd -- Indians with Biblical names (see above II - 3); and 3rd -- some episodes of religious fanaticism that took place in the last century on the rivers Içana, Uaupés, and Papurí, with such repercussion that, in spite of the distances, /319/ they managed to worry the ones governing Manaus. Now it is not improbable that such episodes imply a more remote Christian influence.

177 792

In 1857 the Governador João Baptista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha heard talk of a great movement of the natives of the river Içana, attracted by a preacher who called himself the "Verdadeiro Cristo" /True Christ/. He then appointed as Missionary of the Içana and Uaupés Padre Romualdo Gonçalves d'Azevedo, "in order to thwart the preachings of the pretended Christ, to calm the agitation promoted and to obstruct the migration of the Indians to another people's territory." It indeed became clear to the Government that the "Christ" was trying to induce the Indians to move to the territory of Venezuela. It was feared that he was a foreign political emissary, perhaps even from England, France, or the United States. It was a matter of a Venezuelan Indian, Venâncio by name, who had settled in the povoação /village, town/ Cuiari, on the confluence of the homonymous river with the Içana, and, in the presence of a cross, he would preach his false doctrine, and the concept of him as Saint would grow. "He took advantage," says the Relatorio of Pe. Romualdo, "of the condition to which he was reduced by attacks of catalepsy, from which he suffered, to make believe that he would die, go to heaven, speak with God; and that he had the power to forgive sins" (Relatorio dated February 10, 1858 -- Archivo do Amazonas of July 23, 1907,

4: Silva--470 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Vol. II, n. 5, p. 14). Foreseeing the attacks, he would proclaim beforehand his relations with God, by whose order he would demand payment from the Indians in exchange for the forgiveness of sins. At such news, the forest dwellers would go to see him from wherever they were found. The Missionary Frei Manuel de Santana Salgado, who, at the request of Pe. Romualdo, handicapped by illness, had replaced him, threatening police intervention, forced Venâncio to withdraw to Venezuela. Again during the journey of Frei Salgado another similar religious movement appeared near the "Povoação da Guia" /Town of the Leader/, on the igarapé Pirá-iauára. This time the protagonist was a Brazilian Indian, also named Venâncio, "who called himself Padre Santo enviado do Christo" /Holy Father sent by Christ/, and "the repetition of such acts took place, and it was there that the public confessions, divorces, and new marriages were made, all this being followed by profane entertainments with dances, eating and drinking, which also was practiced on the Cuiary in /320/ consequence of the teaching of the doctrine and the supposed miracles of the so-called Christ."

In his report dated from Cunury (river Uaupés) on April 12 of 1859, Pe. Romualdo told that Indians of several tribes were gathered in Juquira-rapecuma, on the Uaupés, "worshiping another Christ who had appeared there, practicing the same that had happened on Igarapé Piraiauára, on the Içana, that is, baptizing, marrying, etc., that this gathering numbered over a thousand persons armed with firearms and curabís (arrows with poisoned tips), prepared to resist the officials, in case they went there, as had happened on the Içana, that they would wait right there for the whites."

Indeed, Frei Salgado was received hostilely and had to withdraw in danger of his life on March 3, 1858. "According to what has been reported," proceeds the Relatório, "and is taken as certain, the Christ is an Indian, a native of the Uaupés, who resided in the district of Marabitanas, well known there by everyone, called Alexandre. In the retinue of the Christ," concludes the Relatório (Archivo do

4s Silva--471 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/320 cont./

177 792 [567]

Amazonas, October 3 of 1907, Vol. II, n. 7, pp. 85-90) "are more than 10 captured Macus, who are used by them as slaves, to the point of selling them in exchange for a weapon, swords, axes, and whatever pleases them."

After Venâncio and Alexandre, a deserter by the name of Basílio Melgueiro renewed the same mistakes, states Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 20).

Around the end of 1880 another individual appeared, this one from the Arapásu tribe, who called himself Vicente Cristo and claimed to maintain dialogues with the spirits of the dead and with God himself, of whom he proclaimed himself to be a representative. He announced himself as "Pai dos Missionários" /Father of the Missionaries/, who, at his request, God had sent to the Caiarí. He fanaticized many, whom he made dance around a cross. Having harmed many seringueiros /rubber workers/ with his fanaticism, he was finally arrested in Barcelos.

A similar episode happened in the last decades of the past century on the Papuri. An Indian from the Tukano tribe (Subdivision of the Sakúro-põrá, see IV - 2, a), Lino Sêwa by name, appeared in the locality of Buxtwá-pweá (today Montfort). Natives of the Papurí and even of the Uaupés and Tiquié ran to him. He ordered each one to make a cross for himself, taught sacred songs, preached that everyone would go to heaven, and produced many cures with his remedies. The informant for these episodes was an old Indian woman from Pari-cachoeira, called Isabel, who completed her report by offering that, because she had not practiced fornication, "Saint" Lino took her as a helper in the preparation of the remedies. Among the extraordinary events Isabel tells of a marvelous blossoming of beautiful flowers in the entire region included

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177 792 between the Papurí and the Tiquié. Some old people who took some of the remedies of the "Santo" /saint/ are still living (in 1949). These pilgrimages and cures ended with the death of Lino.

c) Concept of Religion.

121 Religion, in a more rigorous sense, is the theoretical and practical acknowledgement of a Supreme Being, whom we call God, as Sovereign Lord of the whole universe, which is a creation of his.

We take it here in a less rigorous and broader meaning, as belief in beings superior to human beings and different from them, with whom it is possible and expedient to be in communication, and the belief in a future extraterrestrial life different from the one that is led on earth (5).

5. M. Morris Jastrow (The Study of Religion -- New York, 1921 /1901/) reduces to three the constituent elements of Religion: 1st. recognition of one or several powers that do not depend on us; 2nd. feeling of man's dependence in relation to this power or powers; 3rd. possibility of dealing and communicating with these powers. Such a concept is inexact and incomplete. Inexact, since it leads one to confuse Religion with Magic. If this power or potency is something impersonal, like the cosmic force, a relationship and intercourse with it are not possible, and although the human being recognizes it as superior to himself, he does not worship it, he fears it and tries to conquer it and dominate it with particular practices that are called magical. We have, then, Magic.

/323 cont./

776 in the time of Wallace, a God Creator and Supreme Rewarder, perfect and good, and call him Wá:kõ (or O'ã-kõ), and an evil spirit that can cause them much harm, and for this reason they fear him, this is Wãx-tĩ. Not only some students and travelers, but also the natives of the younger generation themselves, identify Wãx-tĩ with the Juruparí of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú and the demon himself (8).

8. On the bank of the river Uaupés, above Chibarú, there is a place called Juruparí-ponta, and those of the Tukano language call it Wãx-tĩ nõã, thus identifying Wãx-tĩ and Jurupari.

771 Confronted with this information, one might think that their religion was a Manichaeism, with a double principle: -- the good, which practically does not need to be taken into account, and the evil (9).

9. Concerning this subject, we naturally have to exclude the Indians who have attended the schools of the Salesian Missions for several years and received a more profound and sound religious knowledge, strengthened, besides, by an intense religious and sacramental practical life.

776 Without, for now, questioning the names, it is certain that they admit the existence of a personal Being ("maxsã," people, as they express themselves), a being who has always existed, much superior to human beings, who lives up above. The old
• [177] people call this Being Bũxpó, the Thunder (thus, for example, old Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié), and those who have some notion of Christianity clarify this by saying that

/323 cont./
776 it is "Deus Pai" /God the Father/ (10).
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10. The young Patrícia Vasconcelos, Christian and alumna of the Salesian Mission, talking to her old uncle and pajé, Marco, from S. Luzia, river Papurí, while speaking about the Padre Eterno /Eternal Father/ (Father of Jesus Christ), heard him interrupt her: "Well, my daughter, this is Bũxpó."

*[192] It is to be pointed out that the term of the Língua Geral for indicating Deus /God/ is Tupana, a simple variation, probably introduced by the catechesis, of the name Tupã, which means Trovão /Thunder/. It would not be a mere /324/ coincidence of names. But either both human groups, that of Nheengatú and that of the Tukano, had the same beliefs and cult; or there was a borrowing of beliefs, or at least of legends.

[115] Some add that the world and the human beings came from this Supreme Being as a result of a simple creative word. This is what we obtained in talking with the old people of different tribes and in different localities, even from those who are not Christians and do not maintain contact with the Missionaries, and probably represents their primitive tradition, because it moreover corresponds to what is narrated by the legends.

776 b) Among the Tukano of the river Tiquié, Padre Eduardo
*[192] Lagório, Salesian, found the belief in a God and a Goddess, who existed per se, that is, were not created by another, "kã õaró, by the will," as they express it in their idiom; and she, too, "ko õaró." Contrary to the native psychology, which is not bound up with the woman, whose physical qualities do not give her any more value, the Indian, who in his realistic pragmatism seems unconcerned about the aesthetic qualities of persons, dwells, on the other hand, on describing the beauty of this goddess. It seems to us, for this reason, permissible to search for a Christian origin for such a fact, to wit, the cult and homage

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to the Holy Mother of God (11).

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11. The Indian Sebastião Mariano, of the Yuruparí-tapúya tribe (Arwáke of the Içana) narrated to us in Carará-poço (river Içana), in August of 1957, the legend of Kóay, which he identified and translated as Juruparí, called son of Yaperikuli. And to our question about what his mother was called, he immediately responded "Santa Maria" /Holy Mary/.

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They call God O'ɨ-kõ, but they did not know the meaning of this word. According to the spirit of the Tukano language, it could be a word made up of o'ɨ, bone, and the ending of max-kõ, son. Therefore O'ɨ-kõ means "Son of the bone." They laughed when we gave this translation and added the very common: "that is so," "that is so." Accordingly (or "by analogy") they call the Goddess O'ɨ-kó or O'ɨ-kõ. O'ɨ-kõ means "daughter of the bone" (from O'ɨ, bone and max-kõ, daughter); O'ɨ-kó, as is more commonly heard, would mean "mother of the bone" (derived from pax-kó, mother), suggesting that this would be mother of Oɨ-kõ.

It is not a matter of a couple as a model of the human family, however, as among other peoples, or the deification of the progenitors of the group. Oɨ-kõ does not beget divine or human children; he creates the one and the other.

It was by invitation of O'ɨ-kõ or Oɨ-kó, so they informed Pe. Lagório, that O'ɨ-kõ came down to earth and there created mountains, rivers, forests, animals, and, at the last, the human beings.

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/325/ c) Oɨ-kõ, according to legends obtained by us (and which will be studied more fully in another work), is a personage betrayed by his wife, mahɨwi (the pirárara /a fish/); and he, in turn, preferred his sister-in-law to his own wife. It is true, the personage who made the tribes come out of the opening of

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775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard, and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'ɨsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who
756 judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraordinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

764 The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
775 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

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Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wĩx-tĩye baxsá, dances of Wĩx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts consist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

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Ordinarily the native does not know (41)

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

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The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

/357 cont./

776 It seems that we are faced with some confusion between
• 177 the primitive notions and the ideas that the travelers, colonizers, and Missionaries brought and even taught them in different epochs.

*192 Wãx-tĩ, we have concluded, is a general term to designate these various beings, like our word "Spirit." The term
776 also occurs in the plural, Wãx-tĩã baxsá, dance of the Wãx-tĩ. Probably it is derived from the root wax, and from the substantivizing determinative tĩ. As a matter of fact, there is in the Tukano language the root wax, which would indicate: to imagine, idea, to form ideas, model. Wax-kũ means to think, perhaps from the root wax and the verb kũ, to put.

776 Among the different Wãx-tĩ or spirits, there is one par excellence, the "Wãx-tĩ," as we say "The Supreme, Most Perfect Spirit," or simply the Spirit.

Wãx-tĩ, as follows from the Uaupés legends (which we
776 shall examine in more detail in another study, "Lendas do Uaupés
782 /Legends of the Uaupés/"), is not only a Hero of the tribe, he is the Legislator, therefore the Supreme Lord. He punishes or will punish transgressions. In order to conjure away his punishments, it is important to propitiate him with particular rituals.
*[192] It can be seen in the poosé or wãx-tĩye baxsasé, sacrifices of fish, beijú, or fruits. And there is also communion of the group in the drinking and the smoking. The lyrics of the songs, today
[533] corrupted and without meaning, might perhaps have been the sacrificial hymns (68).

[115] 68. One of the students of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), José Barreto, told that his father, one of the most famous bayá, or singers at the feasts, and dance master, had taught him that the songs during the dabacurí or poosé recalled the creation of the human beings.

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/footnote 84 cont./ her out of there in order to subject her again to the rites of the pajés. As soon as the catastrophe happened, in the very room of death, in the hospital, the weeping by men and women, accompanied simultaneously by dancing, began at the sides of the hammock that contained the body. Among the participants in the wailing and dances was a young Tukano woman who had taken the course in midwifery in Manaus. The dancers were distributed in pairs of the same sex, and the dances were intermixed with small hops, beating at this moment, first the arms, then the legs. The husband, also present, did not participate in the dances, but he did participate in the weeping. Later, once the body had been moved to the entrance room of the hospital, the old mother lay down on the floor, under the hammock where the daughter had died, with her legs and arms open, singing the elegy-weeping.

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The men utter cries and imprecations against those who caused the death; because every death, so they think, is a true murder perpetrated by some enemy by means of a malefice. The women too, appropriately called uxtĩra (Uaupés uxtĩha), mourners, between exclamations and with /370/ very sentimental thoughts, do the eulogy of the dead and imprecate against the pajés or persons who cast the spell, the alleged

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/footnote 89 cont./ river Paca). Today one often hears "yuxkõ-sõ mãrĩ," there is no canoe (since they do not want to render useless the good canoes that they have), and they bury the dead in some hollow piece of timber, or they ask the Missionaries for a casket.

It will be the old canoe, fruit of his work, companion of his travels and of his fishing trips, or one obtained for this purpose. They saw it into two parts. We were unable to find out what they would have done in the old days, before they had a saw or machete, in order to divide the canoe into two halves. Whether they then did it with the help of fire, or whether they used two small canoes as a coffin. On one half they place the corpse with his hammock, bow, arrow, his cuia with a little flour, a cigar, and some coals on a piece of a pot (nowadays a box with some matches). They cover this with the other half of the canoe, closing the orifices, at present with pieces of wood, rags, or anything, and tie the two parts with strong cords of tucum.

764 The burial with part of the utilitarian objects is usually a survival from nomadism. Today the Indians explain to us that it is "to be used in the other life." Other objects (canoes, machetes, axes, hammocks, etc.) are inherited by the family, or, more accurately, by the /373/ oldest son. It is the symbol of a bond that still endures among the members who are living and those already dead (84) /sic; 90/,

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90. Koch Grünberg says of the Kubẽwãna that they burn and throw away the objects that belonged to the dead person, so that his spirit does not come to punish the survivors for their negligence and greediness (Zwei Jahre, p. 314).

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581 extramarital relations, but never in the marriage (10).

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10. Through the influence of the Missionary they have been freeing themselves from these ancestral prejudices, and already cases of marriage through the initiative of the ones getting married, alumni of the Missions, are known. Nevertheless it happens (narrator Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Papuri) that the young man asking for the intervention of the Padre in order to help him find a wife will prove to be indifferent concerning the person. He will say, for example: "Padre, please do me the favor of asking Joaquina, Amélia, or Maria whether one of them wants to marry me."

Marriage does not represent the satisfaction of the sexual instinct, as we had thought and wrote in the beginning, because we found out that this satisfaction has the fullest opportunity imaginable. Marriage, for the individual, is the solution of his economic problem: to have someone who will provide him with food. But it is especially the solution of the social problem: the continuation and propagation of the tribe.

/412/ It is surprising that, in spite of this, family life goes on normally enough. The only plausible explanation is the great respect for the traditional laws establishing the relations between the spouses, and their duties; laws which are faithfully observed.

584 3rd. A third one is that, in order to obtain a wife for an older son nowadays, perhaps a newborn child (11)

11. It does not seem that there are any agreements between the parents about children to be born, because it is contrary to the psychology of the Indian, who is a man of reality.

/421 cont./

593 [857] Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side, helping her in the tasks.

[611] [601] /422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband, although the children belong to his tribe (27),

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] [178] [177] [439] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 562 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),

756 [124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

/424 cont./

562 This moral decadence is not likely to generate in the masculine mind respect (as in fact there is none) for the woman, be she his sister, his wife, or his mother. Any woman represents for them only a worker for the daily tasks and an instrument of very cheap and common pleasures.

The woman senses this real situation, and the more prodigal she is, out of intimate impulses, out of obedience to the customs, because of a desire to please, or out of fear of punishment, the more she is degraded in her own eyes.

The habit of considering situations, rare or none at all, the busy life of work and feasts that she leads, the knowledge that the situation of every woman is identical and that it is a matter of a fact not susceptible to change, because created by the inviolable laws of the tribe, somewhat mitigate her suffering, almost producing conformity and acceptance of this state of things.

When one of them comes into contact with the civilized, however, she gets an idea of a better situation for the woman, she perhaps hears appeals for virtue and her own improvement, she then starts to evaluate the state of decadence of the Indian woman, and she exclaims sorrowfully: "the woman is not worth anything."

9) Division of labor.

462 There is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés a strict division of labor, such that those of one sex will not do the tasks /425/ designated for those of the other one (32).

• [177]

32. This statement holds, without any doubt, for the traditional tasks and for the natives with little or no contact with civilization. In the acculturation that is in process, this concept of division of occupations is beginning to evolve. With all naturalness nowadays a young man serves as cook for the civilized. It is very common, likewise, to see a man wash his own clothes, as well as to fit a carrying basket on his back, as the women do, in order to transport a load for the whites.

/431 cont./

553 782 [562] through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things [821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child 551 553 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

• [177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.

4: Silva--657 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/432 cont./

• 177
551

Many times they refuse to reveal to the civilized the "blown name." It is not probable that a superstitious fear (the taboo of the name) enters into this refusal (51),

[171]

> 51. Pièrre Gordon (L'initiation sexuelle et l'évolution réligieuse /The sexual initiation and religious evolution/, p. 132) explains "teknonymy," that is, the custom (incidentally quite widespread: Asia, Africa, America, Oceania) of not uttering the father's name and designating him by the expression: "the father of So-and-So" (saying the child's name), by means of the taboo of the name. The omission of the name would be a sign of respect, just as among many tribes the name of the sacred objects and, among the Jews, that of Javé /Yahweh/ are omitted. And thus he points out that among the Gold there is an interdiction against mentioning the father's name, while being able to say that of one's own mother or wife, because they are in an inferior position. Likewise among the tribes of the Caburí the woman never pronounces the husband's name, she will always say "the father of N."

as if the name represented part of the personality and, for this reason, to reveal it would be harmful to the individual. As a matter of fact, they call each other by the Christian name, and they indicate their own "blown name" and those of their companions with relative ease. The children at school call their companions by the Baxséke Wamẽ in fun and mockery. They hide it in shame, be it indecent or not, in order to seem civilized.

One notices a tendency to abbreviate the names: Candí (for Cândido), Berê (Bernardo), Mandú (Manoel). And many of them, due to the difficulty of pronunciation, corrupt the names:

/432 cont./

177 551 Sabá (Sebastião), Putucho (Protásio), Burigúrio (Gregório), Duí (Luiz), Inhú (João), Baria (Maria), etc.

They moreover like to give grotesque nicknames to their companions, especially in the schools.

551 Here are some of the names most commonly used among the tribes of the Uaupés:

Men's Names	Women's Names
Dyákoro	Anosáro
Dopíno (a black bird)	Bu'ú (the Tucunaré fish)
Dö'pó-sũ (foot flea)	Dixsíro
Hakíto	Duhígo (seated)
Henã (a fish)	Dumáha
Köomãno	Koõ
Ñáhuri	Ñamá paxkó (mother of the deer)
Ñamá saaró (deer horn)	Ñyĩgõ (black, Negress)
Ñyĩgõ (black, Negro)	
Omõsi	

/433/

õre-buru (athlete's foot)	óri pax-kó (mother of the flowers)
Pahíro (large, stout)	Pírõ döhöo (seated snake)
Pírõ döhögö (seated snake)	
Poá mãri (bald, without hair)	
Sapó-ro (foam)	Semé (paca)
Séribi	Somé
Sibyá põrá (children of the sibyá)	Supyá
Soná toãmi	
Umũpo	
ũ'ré (nightingale)	
ũ'ré-tõ (bunch of pupunha)	
Wirõ (wind)	Wexkoryó (a bird)
Yepá-sõnyá (legendary person)	
Yuxkó-ro (a wood)	
Yupúri	Yu'sío
Among the Tuyuka also:	Among the Baré:
Tunú (flute?)	Bwénomyo
Iñafíhi	Kamoõ
Dépo (foot)	Neñõ
	Nõmí
	Yawíra
	Yexpádwa

/439 cont./

562 881 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c)), Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamʃ, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

• [177] [797]

69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

[756] (See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/.) The maiden then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the pajé or Komũ (70).

70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger pajé. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

[829]

Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the mõ-yoãsé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

562 /443 cont./
881 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (79).
[756]
[867]
[177]

79. These recommendations against the piraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Juruparí of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his
[833] cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the pajé Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

Kinship	Vocative Term	Vocative Term	Nominative Term
	b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsukõ	yõõ ti-khõ m (pl. ti-khõkõra)
	whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsukõ	yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ f
Possible daughter-in-law	yõõ põra baxsuko (bride of my sons)		
	a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsuko	yõõ pá:-khõ (niece) m
	whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsuko	(pl. pá:khõ kõra) yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ f
	b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsuko	yõõ ti-khõ m (pl. ti-khõkõra)
	whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsuko	yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ f
Brother-in-law	yõõ nõ'mã mami (axkabi) (brother of my wife)		
	a) married to meõ-kõ	põ-ñã (pl. põ-ñã-s'õmõa) or põ-ñãkõra)	
	b) married to tẽ-ñõ	põ-ñã	yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) m yõõ tẽ-ñã (bridegroom) m
	c) married into a tribe different from that of the brides and bridegrooms	põ-ñã	yõõ piri (91) m (pl. pirikõra)

91. According to the information obtained, the term piri is recent and used in all the native languages of the Brazilian Uaupés. It seems to us that it is a corruption of the Portuguese term "primo" /cousin/, which, due to faulty pronunciation, they customarily distort into "pirimo." The following are the arguments that authorize this opinion: 1st, some of the informants do not know the term piri; still more numerous are those who do not know piri-mo or piri-mõ and piri-ma; 2nd, of those who have indicated these terms, no one was able to indicate the plural of piri-mo and of piri-ma, and rare were those who presented that of piri; 3rd, according to the spirit of the Tukano language, piri-mo should be the feminine form.

This acceptance of terms from another language is easy. For example, Antônio Barreto (Tukano) informed us that one of his maternal aunts (mĩ-gõ), who in her first marriage had a Tukano (mẽẽ of the informant) for a husband, married a man from the Yebá-maxsĩ tribe in her second marriage. Not being able to call him "mẽẽ," of course, he called his new uncle "yõ-ti," a term unknown to the other informants and which in all probability is a corruption of the Portuguese "tio" /uncle/ (yõ-ti would be an abbreviation of yõõ tio, my uncle).

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Kinship	Vocative Term	Vocative Term	Vocative Term	
	yõõ mã-ra-põ mami (brother of my husband)		or yõõ sẽi-mõ (92)	m
	a) married to wameõ-maxkõ	nihĩ-so-paxkõ (pl. + s'ömõa) (only the mami of the "Gens") buhi-bakõ (pl. buhi-bakõra)	yõõ wameõ-maxkõ yõõ wameõ-maxkõ	f f
	b) married to maã-pa-maxkõ	buhi-bakõ	yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ	f
	c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms"	buhi-bakõ	yõõ piri-mõ	f
Sister-in-law	yõõ nõ'mõ mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my wife)			
	a) married to meõ-kõ	buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra)	yõõ meõ-kõ(cousin)	m
	b) married to tẽ-ñõ	buhi-bako	yõõ tẽ-ñõ(bridegroom)	m
	c) married into a tribe diffesent from that of the "brides and grooms"	buhi-bako	yõõ p ri-ma	m
	yõõ mã-rapõ mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my husband)			
	a) married to wameõ-maxkõ	syõ (pl. syõkõra or better, syõrĩ-nũ'mya)	yõõ wameõ-maxkõ	f
	b) married to maã-pa-maxkõ	syõ or buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra)	yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ	f
	c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms"	syõ or buhi-bako	yõõ piri-ma	f
Co-brother-in-law	yõõ nõ'mõ pẽ-ñã (my wife's brother-in-law)	pesu (pe'su) (pl. pesu-s'ömõa)		m
	yõõ mã-ra-põ buhi-bakõ (my husband's brother-in-law)			f
Co-sister-in-law	yõõ nõ'mõ buhi-bako (my wife's sister-in-law)			m
	yõõ mã-ra-põ syõ (my husband's sister-in-law)	nihĩ-so-paxko (pl. + sa-nũ'mya)		f

92. Some mentioned the term "sẽi-mõ (F. sea-mõ) as equivalent to brother-in-law from a tribe different from that of the baxsukãra. They do not know, however, what the plural form would be. According to another informant, "sẽi-mõ" would be a term taken from the Nheengatu language and equivalent to "compatriot," i.e., member of the same tribe or nation.

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619 2) Local or Territorial Group.

628 a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

614 592 621 Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ĩ pahiríwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

[177] With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the [178] povoados or groupings of family residences.

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/461 cont./

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

91 The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

[198]
[177]
[829]

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[192]

The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

[574]

97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

/474 cont./

554 614 [601] 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 614 829 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear, however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

797 177 614 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

/481 cont./

412 There are still a few hours of daylight: the man goes to prepare his arrows, to separate the tucum for the fishing nets or to work on his little seat or on his sieve. The woman will weave a new hammock or will attend to the preparation of the mandioca for the following day. Each one at his task.

• [177] [296] Among the individuals of the new generation, the man will perhaps mend or wash his own clothes, as the woman does hers. All tasks done with tranquillity, in the intimacy of family life, to the rhythm of an animated conversation, with noisy laughter.

When the sun goes down, the wood is already piled up inside the house and the vessels are filled with water. Men and children * [192] settle down in their hammocks, while the woman is busy boiling the Ñõxkã, with some wild fruit, and all help themselves with their cuias, like evening tea.

The conversation continues more briskly, the episodes of the day are picturesquely narrated, the visitors who appeared, the launches they passed, the news of other malocas. When the night is further advanced, it will perhaps be nine o'clock, the doors of the maloca are lowered. Sleep first conquers the children, later the older ones. Around 11 o'clock or later, however, one will hear a question that comes from a hammock, an ĨĨ and an answer from another hammock. Afterwards the silence is interrupted only by the crackling of so many small fires in each apartment of the large dwelling. The fire never goes out inside the maloca; at any time of the night one may see some figure jump out of a hammock in order to stir up the fire, indispensable for the cooler hours of the dawn, and to scare away snakes or other animals.

178 With the advance of civilization the phenomenon of acculturation takes place, new tasks occupying the time and the attention of the Indians. The rhythm of daily life, however, is always the same, in the maloca as well as in the povoado, for the Indians who have always lived there as well as for those who have spent long years in the boarding schools and have returned to their homes.

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121 societies. In reconstructing tropical forest culture history, note must be taken of the extraordinary ease of cultural transfers over the entire area. For this reason alone knowledge of total cultural systems seems essential. As matters stand now, much reconstruction must be based upon the very unreliable foundation of trait comparisons. What has [177] been of special interest in my study of the Cubeo has been the way in which some widespread cultural traits, particularly masked dances, harvest rites, and sacred trumpets, have been taken up and fitted into distinctive cultural patterns with a focus in an ancestral cult.

133 The Northwest Amazon region is bounded on the south by the Amazon, from where it is joined by the Rio Negro eastward to where the Marañón issues from the Andes. The Guaviare River is its northern boundary, the Andean cordillera bounds it in the west, and the Rio Negro in the east. The principal rivers of the region are the Caquetá, Apaporis, Tiquié, Papurý, Isana, Vaupés (known in Brazil as the Caiarý), Cuduiarí, Querarí, Aiarí, Tie, and Guainía. All drain into the Amazon. Ecologically, the Northwest Amazon is sharply differentiated only from the neighboring Andean region to the west and to a lesser degree from the open prairie or llanos on its northern [137] side. Eastward it fades into the flatter and lower-lying forests of the Amazon. Its southern margin is fixed only by an arbitrary river boundary. It is a densely wooded region of tall trees closely packed and interlaced with vines and lianas. At the river edges the forest growth is lower and more brushlike. It is also an elevated region whose streams are punctuated by hazardous cataracts. On the Vaupés, between Yurupari and the Rio Negro, Dr. Hamilton Rice (1910) counted 30 major cataracts and 60 small ones. The cataracts (*cachoeiras*) are for the Indians focal points of residence. Traditional sites, they often mark tribal and sib boundaries. Every cataract has its petroglyphs that depict mythical figures still known to the Indians. In some areas, as I have observed, the residents of the *cachoeiras* freshen the petroglyphs from time to time with deepening incisions. The rapids are more of a navigational hazard to the European traveler than to the Indians, who are expert canoemen and whose light craft [502] is easily portaged. Dr. Rice, who knew a good deal about the Amazon, [501] declared the Cubeo to be the most expert canoemen on the river. I can also testify to their coolness and skill in navigating their small dugout canoes, that have only an inch or two of freeboard, through the twisting boulder-strewn channel of a thundering rapids.

The land slopes abruptly eastward. In its western part the area is often a tumble of ravine-cut hills, exposed rock, and swamp. The Vaupés flows past high, open, uninhabited mesas. Scattered hills of

[text continues on p. 10]

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be interesting and he recorded tribal distributions and physical conditions of life as well as many customs. It is to Wallace that we owe the first report on mortuary endocannibalism among the Cubeo. Curiously, this information has never been properly authenticated. Wallace learned about it at second hand, as did Koch-Grünberg many years later. I observed what I thought to be this custom, but I could not verify that the bones being prepared for imbibing with chicha were human. The annoyance of the Indians when I accidentally came upon them while they were reducing bones to meal and pouring it into the chicha at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony led me to suspect that the bones were human. In response to my questions, however, no Cubeo would confirm my conjectures.

Wallace (1870, p. 354) traveled up the Vaupés to the mouth of the Cuduiarí River at the rapids of Uaracapurí, where he observed a community of several malocas. He did not enter the Cuduiarí, reporting only that to his knowledge no European had ever gone up that river. As for the Vaupés, this river, particularly in its Brazilian reaches, had in Wallace's time already become an important artery of European trade. Along the Isana River Wallace noted that the Indians were living in European-style dwellings. The Cuduiarí then had the reputation of a totally wild region. The Cubeo Indians seen by Wallace were still wearing large circular wooden plugs in their ears. By 1903, in the time of Koch-Grünberg, this form of male ornamentation had already been given up.

Curt Nimuendajú surveyed the Isana, Aiarí, and Vaupés rivers in 1927. In his notes, published posthumously in 1950, it is revealed that he correctly identified Tucano and Cubeo descent groups as patrilineal clans. He did not, however, enter the Cuduiarí, and his information on that river, being secondhand, is not too reliable.

My own field work on the Cuduiarí began in September 1939 and continued through June 1940. (Goldman, 1948, is a preliminary report.) The Cuduiarí had the advantage of being relatively accessible and as yet almost completely unacculturated. I decided upon the Cuduiarí after a survey of the Cubeo communities along the Vaupés.

CULTURE CHANGE

Cubeo culture has been subjected to acculturative influences from two sources, one from other Indian tribes and the other from European, Colombian, and Brazilian missionaries, settlers, traders, and latex extractors. Cultural interchange among Indian tribes in the Northwest Amazon region is, of course, an old and intricate process,

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the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large communal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor. The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social segments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted [illegible] into one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yarí*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans. As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the complex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of culture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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back to Arawakan, so that the young people were still Tucanoan speakers while their elders were already back to Arawakan (1909, I, 116). Where Arawakan and Tucanoan coexist, Koch-Grünberg has observed, Arawakan becomes the language of ritual and Tucanoan the everyday language (1909, II, 182).

In general the region of the Vaupés, the only part of the Northwest Amazon that I can speak of from personal knowledge, exhibits a high degree of cultural cosmopolitanism. Many Indians are multilingual because of the frequency of intermarriage with other linguistic groups and the love of the Indians for travel and intertribal trade. Not only do the Indians have some knowledge of the standard languages in the region, but they also employ the *lingoa geral*, a lingua franca based on Tupían, and many are conversant with Spanish and Portuguese. As they adopt languages the Indians also adopt new customs; these are always welcomed, almost in the same way in which women eagerly acquire from one another new varieties of manior, or in the way in which men and women collect and try to cultivate almost anything that grows. This, in short, is not a region of cultural conservatism. Having freshly arrived from an ethnographic survey in the Colombian Andes, I was literally overwhelmed by the contrast between the secretiveness and wariness of the highland Indians and the openness and friendliness of the Cubeo.

Of course, the question of cultural relations between Tucanoans and Arawakans is one of great complexity and uncertainty. We have only the most general knowledge of these relations; but even this provides a very useful background for understanding the nature of Indian-white relations and of Cubeo acculturation. The essential point in this background would seem to be what I have called the Indian's cosmopolitanism. I speak now only for the Indians of the Cuduiari. There, it has seemingly provided a strong measure of immunity against the potentially overwhelming effects of European contacts.

The Northwest Amazon has been subject to persistent white influence from the sixteenth century onward.[2] As early as 1557 Francisco Perez de Quesada founded the community of Mocoa on the Caquetá River. The Dominicans entered the region in 1550, the Franciscans some 20 years later. Prior to their expulsion in 1767 the Jesuits founded many missions on the Orinoco, on the Meta, on the Casanare, on the Guaviare, and on the Vichada. On the Vaupés proper the first mission was founded in 1852 at Carurú by P. Gregorio, a Carmelite.

[2] For historical background consult: Archivo do Amazonas, 1908; Bauer, 1919; Coudreau, 1886-87, II, 153 ff., for missions on the Vaupés; Gumilla, 1791; Koch-Grünberg, 1909; Martius, 1867, I, 391 ff.

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175 177 997 He succeeded in bringing together a village of some 300 Indians. By 1881 the mission was disbanded and the Indians returned to their original communities. At about the same time the mission of Santa Cruz dos Cobeus was established at Mitú *cachoeira* near the Cuduiarí. Missionary activity in the region has been generally discontinuous but nonetheless energetic; and while Christian doctrine has left only a vague imprint in native religious practices it has succeeded in acquainting the Indians with new ideas of dress and in disturbing their 175 convictions about some practices such as cannibalism. For a period between 1875 and the early 1900's there was a flurry of nativist agitation in the Vaupés. Between 1875 and 1878 an Indian from the Isana River, called Anizetto, reportedly a hermaphrodite, led a messianic movement against the whites until he was arrested by the Brazilian authorities. In 1880 a shaman who called himself Vicente Cristo led another messianic movement along the middle Vaupés. Koch-Grün- [668] berg observed that the native messianic leaders were always Arawakan-speaking (1809, I, 39). There is nothing to suggest that any of these movements ever took strong hold on the Indians. On the Cuduiarí tangible evidences either of Christian influence or of native messianism were slight in 1940.

175 177 648 European commercial penetration started slowly but reached a sudden expansion with the rubber boom that subsided shortly before World War I. The Putumayo, where thousands of Indians perished in the rubber camps, was a notorious and baleful focus of white influence (Hardenburg, 1912). From then on the Indians and the whites along the Vaupés were in constant contact and in frequent conflict. On the lower Vaupés in Brazilian territory many Indian tribes had taken on the outward appearance of the mestizo, or caboclo as he is called in Brazil, as early as 1852, when Wallace was there. The upper Vaupés in Colombian territory retained its true Indian character for very much longer. The Cuduiarí was still very strongly native at the time of my field work in 1939-40.

177 Only close study will reveal how far acculturation has gone even among those Indians most closely associated with the whites on the main streams. There the Indians wear the dress of the mestizo, live in European-style shacks, and celebrate the Christian holidays. They also carry out native ceremonials, not, to be sure, with the traditional elegance, but strongly enough to suggest that a good deal of native life goes on beneath the shabby surface of ragged clothing, poor housing, and the litter of cheap manufactured utensils and ornaments. [182]

The resistance of the Indians of the Cuduiarí to cultural loss and breakdown may be attributed in the main to relative isolation, but

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in part, I believe, to cosmopolitanism, to the capability of the Indians to adopt foreign objects and foreign customs without losing their sense of identity as Indian. As long as the point of view remains Indian, the culture may change but it will still retain for the Indian a distinctive and satisfying pattern. It is when the clear identification as Indian in the cultural sense is lost that change is likely to mean breakdown.

Cosmopolitanism is but one general factor in a process of culture change that is exceedingly intricate and subtle, in which there are no clear-cut stages but endless gradations in the transition from Indian to the new cultural and psychological entity that emerges. Another general factor is the white agent. On the Cuduiarí the white man does not intrude directly upon the Indian's daily life. The missionary expects the Indian to come to him at the mission station. Even then the missionary effort is a patient one. Mainly it goes through the children who are educated at the mission school. Mission Indians and tribal Indians lead different lives but they are not mutually antagonistic. Between them there is a gradation but not a gap.

The commercial white man, the rubber collector (*balatero*), or the trader has only a limited interest in the Indians. The Indian, having completed his contract work in the rubber forest, returns to his own community and is instantly enmeshed in the tribal life. But even in the rubber forests his associates have been fellow Indians, of foreign tribes, to be sure, but to this experience the Indian has been well accustomed. As for the white employer, he is often less a carrier of European culture than he is a frontiersman, a distinct tropical forest product himself. He is partly Indianized and he is generally the husband of an Indian wife.

Among the Mundurucú of central Brazil, as vividly described by Robert Murphy (1960), an anthropologist, work in the rubber forests and the contractual production of farinha, a manioc flour, for the white man were potent factors in the disruption, indeed in the virtual obliteration, of the native culture. To compare Mundurucú with Cubeo is to set off a society that has become ugly and disordered with its meager hoard of cheap objects of white manufacture with a well-ordered and fundamentally satisfying way of life. Unlike the Mundurucú, the Cubeo have succeeded in withstanding both the rubber forest and manioc trade. Far from being overcome, the Cubeo have been able to use the income from labor in the rubber forests and from the sale of farinha to further their own cultural objectives. Murphy tells of the insatiable longing of the Mundurucú for the trinkets and gadgets of the white trader. For these objects of intrin-

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sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small mestizo-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand, when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness. As late as 1903 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental ceremonial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiarí, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiarí I saw no man in European dress.

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The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cultural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Cariban or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupían lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiarí who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese.

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The use of European personal names offers another example of adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the ***Bahúkiwa*** sib was the first to tell me his name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo, [123]

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177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice
he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I
met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a
white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well
as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the
genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I
learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiarí who had a European
name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the
Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said
that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual
sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name
would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree
the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries
have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the
European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civi-
lized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no culti-
vated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for
[444] which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did
the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor.
At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in
1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because
as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden
upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiarí had visited Mitú, the capital of the
648 *Comisaría* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in
1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station.
After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important adminis-
trative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration
building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new
missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio sta-
tion, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police
garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly
of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians
drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business.
Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiarí were not
altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a friendly place. The *Comisaría* protected their labor rights, supervising terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaría* provided medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as possible. Although the Cuduiarí is readily accessible from Mitú it was entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday life on the Cuduiarí was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and the government had already become peaceable.

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib of the middle Cuduiarí. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pressure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For a while people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an appropriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time during a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú distributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However, during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pʉ̃nwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépʉ̃nwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invitation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens. Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex, but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi* (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash, melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahikino* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch Grünberg was on the Cadularí, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cadularí communities (1909, II, 8a). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiarí, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiari; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way.

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Among the factors affecting community size the *tradition of the* maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain.

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses.

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In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y generál*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habókü*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

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From *Kíwaĩ*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

PRODUCTION

The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake. Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine. It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fishing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in production falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc production is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large community under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 [251] [417] [614] [237] After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very 484 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 574 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 602 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using ● [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*vekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves.

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiarí had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit.

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business.

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615 614 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 614 554 [301] The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hierarchical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither, as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo. Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of [177] seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that [721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political authority over the entire Cuduiarí.

614 [613] The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old [867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

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pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past.

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnua*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*.

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupian and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí.

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[3] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The

[3] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Isana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí.

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkũ* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kawáno*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkũ*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkũ* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiari, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkũ* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupían and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yavi* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yavi* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yavi*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yavi*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yavi* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives.

The *yavis* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokübéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yavi* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakü dekókü* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several

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El Diablo

Mitú had met his death with two of his Indians when their canoe overturned. 122
The upper reaches of the river have a gentler gradient, passing through softer sandstones instead of the hard igneous rocks of the lower course. Nonetheless we soon had to negotiate our first rapids. To the uninitiated eye it seemed impossible to pass through, but Candilo, after one false attempt when the motor stalled, took the half-loaded *Vencedor* skilfully through the jutting boulders. Donald followed with our smaller motor powering the loaded *El Diablo*, her bows nosing into the frothing water and the waves breaking over the fuel drums. This was our first rapid; we had no idea that we would have so many more to negotiate before the end of our journey. Brian examined the rocks, chipping off pieces, looking at them through a lens and packing samples away for our geological collection. Then we lashed the canoes together as fast as possible and continued to creep along the banks, eating our lunch of dry biscuits and *farinha* – a thirst-quenching mixture of manioc flour and water, the Indian's habitual meal when travelling.

The tropical sunset is swift, with no extended twilight, and so by five-thirty each day we had to stop travelling and quickly find a break in the forested bank where we could make camp. Our boats tied and the cooking equipment ashore, we set about cutting a clearing. Horacio was a cook *par excellence*. Years of travel had taught him that the most efficient stove was to be made from a tall biscuit tin; you made your fire at the bottom and placed the pressure cooker on the top. We were eating our diet of rice and corned beef within half an hour of landing and, slinging our hammocks, were soon gazing up at the starry sky, listening to the croak of the bullfrogs.

Soon we left behind the wide Vaupés with its deserted forest banks and entered the black enclosed waters of the Río Ti. With the dry season already well advanced and with less water every day, we were forced to unlash our two canoes and continue with one following the other. The stream narrowed, the black waters shallowed and the white sandbanks crept closer on every bend. Near the mouth of the river we had arranged for two more Indians, the brothers Matias and Bernavez, to come to help us. They 114
knew the route through to the Piraparaná and they warned us that, with our heavy loads, we were going to find the journey extremely difficult – unless it rained. Their warning was fully justified, for with the lower river level the fallen tree trunks formed one long barricade to our movement upstream. In the rainy season with the high water, one could float over them, but now every trunk had to be cut. Fortunately the Indians were experts with our axes, their muscular bodies perched precariously on a water-borne log, the axe falling rhythmically against the hard wood, the water splashing up into their faces. These were civilized Indians who could speak Spanish; they had [177] [191]

Working a trapiche, *a press for crushing the juice from sugar cane.* 000

 [see p. 38-B]

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originally worked wild rubber for one of the great rubber barons and they had earned their clothing in exchange for their labours. Their torn trousers were only a veneer of the civilized world, for here they seemed to come into their own element: they talked to each other in Tukano; they became alert to the forest they knew so well.

We were living in a closed world of limited horizons, on either side the thick forest, ahead the river and above a ribbon of sky. Giant emerald kingfishers with orange heads and long black beaks darted out in front of us. Myriads of white butterflies rose off the sandbanks, settling on our bodies to enjoy the salty sweat. On occasions we saw a delicate wader like a sandpiper bob up and down on the sand near the water's edge. The water had now changed colour, no longer black but a deep wine red, as it flowed over the pale sandy bed. We supposed this colour was due to the high iron content in the rock.

Our first major halt was made at Pedro's house. He had established himself as a tradesman between the Indians on the upper Piraparaná and the civilized rubber gatherers of Mitú. He bought *farinha* from the Tukano in exchange for fish-hooks, salt and cloth. His magnificent thatched house was a foretaste of what we were to see. But the occupants with their dishevelled clothes, the sheets of crude rubber hanging from the beams and the iron cooking pots, seemed a strange paradox.

We unloaded all our equipment, sending Candilo and his assistant back to Mitú with *Vencedor* and the larger outboard motor. With him went one of our valuable cameras whose shutter had jammed during the first day, and a note to Nestor in Bogotá, warning him of the difficulties he would encounter and advising him again to travel as light as possible. Of the now depleted party, José and Uriel were to be our guides throughout the journey; Matias would ensure that we reached the first Indian habitation on the Piraparaná; while Bernavez went on ahead in his dugout canoe carrying two drums of our fuel. We were joined by one more man, old Miguez, who brought his own small Indian canoe. From now on we would have to make double journeys with *El Diablo* until we reached Indians who would carry our loads in their own canoes.

Next morning, while Donald and Horacio repacked much of the kit, Brian and José went ahead with a small load in *El Diablo*. The Ti narrowed and then divided; here our route towards the Piraparaná portage lay up a tiny tributary, the Caño Berada or Fish Bow Creek, as it was known to the Indians. With our arrival in the Berada, a mere stream flowing out of the undergrowth, our whole mode of travel changed. We could no longer use the motor; instead we had to push the boat upstream. We spent the rest of the day waist-deep in water, clambering over submerged timbers and occasional rocks; an Indian out in front cut a way through the fallen trees.

Christmas Day saw us cross two rock ledges where the boat had to be com-

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [2] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921–22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brasil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

• 177 563 61- 582 [3] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Cabocios are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of cabocios. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "*cabuco*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be cabocios.

000 [4] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 191 [5] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 101 197 [6] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683 - B]